

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05834 01 OF 02 141217Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

SAJ-01 TRSE-00 CU-05 ACDA-19 SAM-01 DRC-01 INRE-00

USIE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /141 W  
----- 017898

O R 141055Z SEP 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8258

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 186

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5834

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN

SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - SEPTEMBER 3-13

1. SUMMARY: CSCE RECONVENED SEPTEMBER 3, AFTER A FIVE  
WEEK RECESS, BUT GOT OFF TO A SLOW START, WITH FULL  
MEETING SCHEDULE NOT TAKING EFFECT UNTIL SEPTEMBER 9.  
A WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT STATE II MUST NOW MOVE  
TOWARD CONCLUSION PRODUCED SOME PROCEDURAL FLEXIBILITY  
WHICH COULD FACILITATE PROGRESS, AND NATO ALLIES MADE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05834 01 OF 02 141217Z

SEVERAL MOVES TO OPEN MORE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS ON

CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS), BUT DREW NO RESPONSE FROM SOVIET SIDE. SOVIETS ALSO MAINTAINED RIGID POSITION ON HUMANITARIAN (BASKET III) SUBJECTS, AND ARE APPARENTLY UNDER LESS TIME PRESSURE THAN BEFORE. CYPRUS PROBLEM REMAINED A POSSIBILITY DISRUPTIVE FACTOR. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL SITUATION -- THE CONFERENCE SPENT THIS WEEK SLOWLY PICKING THINGS UP WHERE THEY WERE LEFT LAST JULY, AND ESTIMATING PROSPECTS FOR BRINGING STATE II TO A CONCLUSION. BOTH EAST AND WEST SHOWED SOME PROCEDURAL FLEXIBILITY, BUT BASIC POSITIONS APPEARED TO BE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME AS THEY WERE BEFORE THE RECESS. IN ADDITION, THE SOVIETS APPEARED TO BE UNDER MUCH LESS TIME PRESSURE THAN THEY HAVE EXHIBITED PREVIOUSLY, AND ONE SOVIET DELEGATE TOLD USDEL PRIVATELY THAT STAGE II WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE CONCLUDED UNTIL EARLY 1975. THIS APPROACH SEEMED TO DERIVE PRIMARILY FROM TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS, AS EASTERN DELEGATIONS, WHO CLEARLY KNOW OF NATO CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE, AWAITED THE SUBMISSION OF REVISED WESTERN PROPOSALS. BUT IT WAS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE SOVIET ATTITUDE COULD ALSO REFLECT A BROADER REVIEW OF POLICY TOWARD

CSCE.

3. CYPRUS PROBLEM -- CYPRUS CONTINUED TO LOOM AS A POSSIBLY DISRUPTIVE FACTOR FOR CSCE. CYPRIOT AND GREEK DELEGATIONS OPENED DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE PRINCIPLES, ACCUSING TURKEY OF VIOLATING ALL PRINCIPLES EVEN BEFORE THEY HAVE BEEN AGREED. DESPITE A RELATIVELY MILD TURKISH REPLY, THE GREEKS APPEARED DETERMINED TO KEEP THE CYPRUS ISSUE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, AND TO RAISE IT AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE TURKS MADE IT KNOWN PRIVATELY THAT THEY WOULD REPLY IN KIND TO ANY INTERVENTION ON CYPRUS, AND WOULD RESERVE THE POSSIBILITY OF QUESTIONING THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CYPRIOT DELEGATION IF THE CYPRIOTS DID NOT BEHAVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05834 01 OF 02 141217Z

4. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES APPROVED THREE MAIN SENTENCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE BUT BOGGED DOWN WHEN EASTERN BLOC RAISED DIFFICULTIES OVER VATICAN PROPOSAL ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. CYPRUS PROBLEM, WHICH MARRED OPENING SESSION OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE, RETURNED TO THE FLOOR AS RIVAL YUGOSLAV AND GREEK PROPOSALS ON RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES CAME UNDER DISCUSSION.

5. MILITARY SECURITY -- WEEK WAS MARKED BY STRONG ALLIED PRESSURE ON SOVIETS TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON CBMS. BUSINESSLIKE ALLIED APPROACH AND PROBING OF WARSAW PACT POSITIONS CONFIRMED QUICKLY THAT SOVIET DELEGATION HAS RETURNED TO GENEVA WITH INSTRUCTIONS WHICH OFFER NOTHING NEW AT THIS TIME. SOVIET THEME THROUGHOUT DEBATE STRESSED NOVELTY OF CBM CONCEPT WHICH, BECAUSE OF THE RISKS INVOLVED, REQUIRES UTMOST CAUTION. MOSCOW HAD CAREFULLY CONSIDERED ALL PROPOSALS DURING THE SUMMER RECESS AND SOVIETS WERE REINFORCED IN THEIR VIEW THAT FOR THE PRESENT ONLY LIMITED MEASURES COULD FIND AGREEMENT. WITH THIS GLOOMY PROSPECT, ALLIES AND NEUTRALS STRESSED NEED FOR LESS FORMAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS IN WHICH FREER DISCUSSION COULD TAKE PLACE. SUBCOMMITTEE NEVERTHELESS STARTED A REVIEW OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS, DISCUSSING THRESHOLD, AREA OF APPLICATION, TIME FOR NOTIFICATION AND CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION. ON ALL POINTS SOVIETS STUCK TO THEIR EARLIER POSITIONS. ON THRESHOLD SOVIETS PERSISTED THAT NOTIFICATION COULD ONLY BE GIVEN AT ARMY OR ARMY CORPS LEVEL, WITH ANOTHER FORMULA FOR THOSE COUNTRIES WHO DO NOT HAVE SUCH MILITARY STRUCTURES. SOVIET DEL REFUSED TO DISCUSS THRESHOLD IN NUMERICAL TERMS. ON AREA OF APPLICATION, SERIOUS UK PROPOSAL THAT PROVISION BE MADE FOR ONE OR TWO EXCEPTIONS TO COVERAGE OF ALL OF EUROPE WAS COUNTERED BY SOVIET AMENDMENT BASED ON STANDARD BORDER-ZONE CONCEPT. ON TIMING, CLEAR WESTERN SIGNAL THAT 30 DAYS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE DID NOT BUDGE SOVIET DEL FROM POSITION THAT APPROXIMATELY 10 DAYS WAS MORE THAN ADEQUATE. FINAL DAY OF DISCUSSION ON CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION AND PROCEDURES FOR NOTIFICATION  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 05834 01 OF 02 141217Z

FURTHER EXPOSED PRESENT RIGIDITY OF SOVIET POSITION, WITH SOVIET DEL CONTINUING TO INSIST ON DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS.

6. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FUL COMMITTEE CONTINUED EFFORTS TO AGREE ON PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE RELATING BASKET II AGREEMENTS TO THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES, ECHOING EARLIER PARALLEL DEBATE IN COMMITTEE III. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES GAVE INITIAL CONSIDERATION TO A NEW EC-9 PROPOSAL ON SAFEGUARDS, AND REGISTERED TEXTS ON CONTACTS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF BUSINESS OFFICES AFTER CZECH DELEGATION WITHDREW THEIR INSISTENCE ON A RESTRICTIVE REFERENCE TO EXISTING LEGISLATION. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED

CLOSER TO AGREEMENT ON A SIMILAR PARAGRAPH TO COVER  
CONTACTS RELATING TO INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION PROJECTS.  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS REGISTERED ONE  
PARAGRAPH FROM TURKISH PROPOSAL ON MIGRANT LABOR.  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE REGISTERED A TEXT  
ON THE ROLE OF UNESCO AND UNISIST, THUS COMPLETING ITS  
FIRST DRAFTS OF ALL SUBSTANTIVE PARAGRAPHS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05834 02 OF 02 141222Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

SAJ-01 TRSE-00 CU-05 ACDA-19 SAM-01 DRC-01 INRE-00

USIE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /141 W  
----- 017962

O R 141055Z SEP 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8259

INFO ALLL CSCE CAPITALS 187

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 5834

7. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- FULL COMMITTEE APPROVED  
IN PRINCIPLE EC-9 PROPOSALS FOR MORE INFORMAL  
SESSIONS, SIMULTANEOUS INFORMAL DRAFTING ON TWO TOPICS

IN EACH SUBCOMMITTEE, AND EARLY TABLING OF ALL PAPERS TO BE SUBMITTED. HOWEVER, FIRST INFORMAL SESSION ON HUMAN CONTACTS INDICATED THAT SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS WILL NOT BE EASY. DESPITE GOOD ATMOSPHERE, SOVIETS WITHDREW THEIR EARLIER INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON THREE PARAGRAPHS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION, THUS NEGATING PRE-RECESS ACCOMPLISHMENTS. ALLIES GENERALLY THOUGHT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05834 02 OF 02 141222Z

WAS A TACTICAL MOVE TO PROVIDE TRADE-OFF MATERIAL AGAINST OTHER WESTERN DEMANDS. INFORMAL SESSION ON INFORMATION BEGAN DRAFTING ON FILMED AND BROADCAST INFORMATION AND IMMEDIATELY STALLED OVER NATURE OF INFORMATION TO BE TRANSMITTED. KEY SOVIET SPOKESMAN WAS ABSENT, UNDERLINING LACK OF SOVIET INTEREST IN REAL NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION ALSO HELD INFORMAL SESSIONS. CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE CONCENTRATED ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS, AND SOME LIMITED PROGRESS WAS MADE ON SUBJECT OF TRANSLATION AND DISSEMINATION OF LITERARY WORKS. IN EDUCATIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE TABLED BY WEST WAS OPPOSED BY SOVIET REP, WHO WAS CRITICAL OF ITS LENGTH AND ITS CALL TO "FACILITATE FREER CONTACTS" AMONG SCHOLARS AND SCIENTISTS.

8. COMMENT: THE NEW AND ENIGMATIC OVERTONES IN THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD CSCE WERE THE SUBJECT OF MUCH SPECULATION THIS WEEK, AS UNENTHUSIASTIC RETURNING DELEGATES TRIED TO FORESEE THE TIMEFRAME FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE CONFERENCE. THE OMISSION OF ANY MENTION OF CSCE IN SPEECHES BY BREZHNEV AND PODGORNYY WAS NOTED WITH APPREHENSION, AND BREZHNEV'S REFERENCE TO THE "GREAT MANY COMPLEX AFFAIRS" STILL TO BE RESOLVED TO BRING THE PROSPECT OF DETENTE TO REALITY WAS TAKEN AS AN INDICATION OF DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD. THE REASONS FOR THIS ATTITUDE WERE A PRINCIPAL SUBJECT OF CORRIDOR ANALYSIS; MANY DELEGATES THOUGHT IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE FOR THE SOVIETS TO TAKE A MORE CAUTIOUS LINE FOLLOWING THE CHANGE IN THE US ADMINISTRATION, AND IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBLE PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY FOR THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, POSED BY THE CYPRUS SITUATION. OTHERS SAW IN IT A SIGNAL INTENDED TO CONVEY TO THE WEST THAT THE USSR IS NOT SO COMMITTED TO A SUCCESSFUL CSCE THAT THEY WILL PAY ANY PRICE FOR IT. END COMMENT. DALE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COLLECTIVE SECURITY, POLITICAL SITUATION, MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 SEP 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974GENEVA05834  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740258-0040  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740945/aaaablwh.tel  
**Line Count:** 273  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 08 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <08 MAY 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <02 JUL 2002 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - SEPTEMBER 3-13  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PARM, EGEN, CY  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005